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Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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Are the Congressional Spy Investigations Serving the National Interest?

Guest Moderator, HOUSTON PETERSON

Speakers

HOMER FERGUSON

J. HOWARD McGRATH

KARL E. MUNDT

JONATHAN DANIELS

(See also page 12)

— COMING —

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What Hope for Man?

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THE BROADCAST OF SEPTEMBER 14:

"What Hope for Man?"



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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



SEPTEMBER 7, 1948

VOL. 14, No. 20

Are the Congressional Spy Investigations Serving the National Interest?

Announcer:

Tonight we greet you from the Stambaugh Auditorium in Youngstown, Ohio, where we're the guests of the *Youngstown Vindicator* and Station WFMJ. Youngstown has pleasant memories for the Town Meeting. This is our third broadcast here within the past few years under the same auspices. We're delighted to see many of our old friends in this audience of over 2,500 people.

Youngstown is a thriving city on the Mahoning River. Center of the third largest iron and steel district in the country, it uses 8,500,000 tons of ore annually.

America's Town Meeting, after an extensive tour, is now within sight of its home in Town Hall, New York. It has been a gratifying and enriching experience to meet so many of our listeners and friends, and we hope that they will assist us at Town Hall when they come to New York. Begin-

ning October 5, we will be televised every week.

Tonight, we will consider a vital question, which has been front-page news for several months—"Are the Congressional Spy Investigations Serving the National Interest?"

Now to preside over our discussion in the absence of George V. Denny, Jr., here is Houston Peterson, author, lecturer, and professor of philosophy at Rutgers University. Mr. Peterson.

Moderator Peterson:

Good evening, friends. We are glad to be back in Ohio again for the second time within two weeks. As guests of the *Youngstown Vindicator* and Station WFMJ, we are as much at home as we were in Marion on August 24.

Our question for tonight is certainly both dramatic and timely, but it is more than that. "Are the Congressional Spy Investigations Serving the National Interest?" or

are they serving as a red herring, diverting attention from the proper duties of Congress?

Is their vital objective being realized, or is it being obscured by the methods used?

Are public airings necessary and desirable in such matters, or is secrecy of first importance in unearthing secret agents?

There is a tremendous cleavage between our two pairs of speakers this evening.

Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican of Michigan, and chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee, joins Congressman Karl E. Mundt, Republican of South Dakota, vice-chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in defending the spy investigations.

On the other side, some harsh things, I suspect, will be said by Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democrat of Rhode Island, and chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Jonathan Daniels, Democrat of North Carolina, and editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer*.

We will now hear from the Michigan gentleman, whose first term in the United States Senate has been one of the most active of our times—Senator Homer Ferguson, speaking from Detroit. (Applause.)

Senator Ferguson:

The inquiry of the Senate Investigating Committee into the

way in which the loyalty program of the Federal Government has been working is of real value serving the Nation's interest. Congress appropriated about 17 million dollars for the purpose of setting up a loyalty program to guarantee that Communists and other subversive elements are forced out and kept out of Government.

When you consider the insidious cunning and deceit of the Communists, you realize that we must be constantly alert to prevent the infiltration into Government. Because of this, our Committee, consisting of four Republicans and three Democrats, unanimously agreed to investigate information which had come to us indicating a serious breakdown in the loyalty program.

In order to do what we could to strengthen and to improve it, we started with the specific case of a man named William Remington. The FBI was notified in the fall of 1945 that while employed by the United States Government, Remington had acted as a Russian spy.

Although he denied he was a spy, he did admit close association and secret meetings with a confessed Russian spy—Miss Elizabeth Bentley. He said that he had given her government documents during the war, and she in turn had given him copies of the *Daily Worker* at meeting places on park

benches, in the art galleries, and on street corners.

She said that he had paid her his Communist dues. He admitted paying her money, but said it was for the *Daily Worker*. He admitted substantially everything Miss Bentley said but felt she misunderstood his motives.

The Committee found that when the FBI first learned about Remington's activities, he held a responsible job in the staff of one of the White House agencies.

After the Government was put on notice that he might be a Russian spy, he was given another job in the President's Council of Economic Advisors. Then he was loaned to the Harriman Committee to help prepare the ERP program, the purpose of which was to combat communism abroad.

At the time our Committee began its investigation, he was employed by the Commerce Department, where he played a large part in deciding what goods should be sent to Russia. Here was a case where one branch of our Federal Government was seriously investigating charges that a federal employee was a Russian spy and had presented evidence against him to a Special Federal Grand Jury. At the same time, three other agencies of our Government employed the same man in positions where he could be of utmost value to the Russians.

Mr. Remington himself stated it was fantastic that such a situation

could have existed. This case, together with our other inquiries, proved that our loyalty program had dangerous weaknesses. Because of the President's order refusing to let the Committee see any papers involving loyalties, we have been unable to find out how this occurred or how many similar cases exist today.

From what I know, I do not feel that the fault lies with the FBI. Without any question, the work of our Committee to date has served the Nation's interest. Representatives of the Loyalty Board, in fact, have acknowledged that our Committee has rendered a great service in assisting them to improve the program; and since the investigation started, they have made important changes in the program.

Under the present program, a man may be employed in a most sensitive position in government with access to highly secret information during a period of 120 days while he is being investigated. We have recommended that no one be employed in any position where secret information comes to his attention without a full investigation prior to his employment.

In my opinion, when our Committee finishes its work, this and many other vital changes will be made. These constitute a real public service. The presence of Communists and other subversive individuals in federal positions is of

vital concern to all the American people and to their Representatives in Congress.

Recent Congressional hearings have revealed at least part of the extent of the infiltration of Communists into our government. The disclosure today has been startling and for the first time has alerted a great many loyal Americans to a serious situation which must be corrected promptly and effectively. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Peterson:

Thank you, Senator Ferguson. Our next speaker is right here, visible to this Youngstown audience. He was administrative assistant and press secretary to President Roosevelt and is now author and editor of the Raleigh North Carolina, *News and Observer*, Mr. Jonathan Daniels. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Daniels:

Ladies and gentlemen, in this critical September, I charge that far from serving the national interests, these spy committees have been so acting as to damage and endanger the security of the people of the United States.

Congressmen, like other men on the government payroll, are entitled to a fair evaluation, fairly made of their services to their country. I think, however, that the burden of proof of their services lies upon these spy committees tonight. In 10 years, they have not caught a spy among the

millions of government employees or produced a law to help catch one.

Certainly the burden of proof belongs upon committees which at this critical time have not hesitated to grab and publicize the essential witnesses from whom for months the FBI and other agents of our federal justice have been carefully and patiently getting the facts for our security, including information from men by whose means proven guilty in any American sense, such as, for instance, William Remington.

Most of us Americans now are as impatient as Congressman Mundt, or any other Congressman, with people who refuse to answer when they are asked whether they are Communists.

This is a time to stand up and be counted. This is not, however, a time when we can let our liberties be lost or the regular confusions of our liberties be confused or demoralized. These committees have not only warned more enemies than they have caught. They have harried and slandered men upon whom much of our security depends.

Fourteen months ago in a magazine article, the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American activities directed suspicions at the loyalty of one of the chief scientists upon whose learning we depend for our security. The insinuations against Dr. Condon, director of the National Bureau

of Standards, have continued, but not yet has the Committee given him public hearing or completed any case against him though he has been cleared after investigation which he requested by the Loyalty Board set up in the administration for that purpose by the FBI and by the Atomic Energy Commission.

Harassing scientists is not protecting America. Indeed, as eight of our greatest scientists said yesterday, the objectionable smear tactics are driving the most competent scientists out of our Government at a dangerous rate.

Protecting America is the problem. Men in both parties have honestly differed about methods. In a debate this year about that, Mr. Stassen pointed out, a little unfairly I thought, that most of the Communists in America today are in New York.

Mr. Dewey minimized the present dangers from Communism, perhaps too much, but Mr. Dewey did tell us correctly that there are 27 laws in the United States which enable the regular enforcement officials of the United States to deal with any problem raised by any Communists or any other enemies in our midst.

Obviously we must be alert to our enemies. It has never been so important before that we insist upon order and prudence in the protection of our liberties. The danger is too great now to countenance the careless calling of all

sorts of innocent people disloyal. That can proceed to the point where even the most dangerous Communists may be safe in the confusion of fear and suspicious feeling.

The time is too late to permit even congressional amateurs to play detective with materials from which even the FBI has had difficulty in sifting out the neuroticisms and the nonsense in order to find the facts upon which we can act for our safety.

There is a raid against us in the world today, not merely crackpots and turncoats but the trained agents of a disciplined totalitarianism. We have a right to know that the operations against them are in the hands of our own well-trained professionals in the well-staffed agencies of our Government.

We have faced danger before in America and faced it with courage, not hysteria. We have brought hardheadedness and even humor to our dangers. It was from such an old frontier as this Ohio border that we got this familiar story of the man threatened by the bear who prayed, "Lord, if you can't help me, please don't help that bear."

I charge tonight that the principal beneficiary of the operations of these committees is not the American people but the Russian bear that walks like a man. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Peterson:

Thank you, Jonathan Daniels. Now back to the affirmative. A former teacher and businessman, co-sponsor of the Mundt-Nixon Bill, one of the most vigorous members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Congressman Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota. (*Applause.*)

Congressman Mundt:

Ladies and gentlemen. To ask the question, "Are the Congressional Spy Investigations Serving the National Interest?" is like asking the question, "Is it in the public interest when the fire department sounds its siren and goes forth to put out a great fire which endangers the community?"

The question answers itself. Of course these investigations are in the public interest, in order to keep disloyal employees from helping the Russian bear, the thing that Mr. Daniels spoke about. They are as definitely in the national interest as investigations by the FBI to detect and avert such crimes as kidnapping, murder, and counterfeiting.

Just one week ago Sunday, the House Committee on Un-American Activities issued an Interim Report, unanimously approved by both Democrats and Republicans, I might add. This report took the public into its confidence and set forth exactly what had been accomplished by our investigations to date.

The most casual reading of the official report provides abundant proof that these hearings on communist espionage and infiltration in the executive departments of government are not only serving the national interests but they are, in fact, essential to our very national security and self defense.

Let me give you a quick but crystal-clear example of what we have in mind. Despite the fact that both Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, both of whom are confessed former communist espionage agents, have been before both the FBI and the Attorney General's Special Grand Jury in New York, to identify their communist contacts in government, the general public has never been permitted to hear a word about these critically serious conditions until the espionage hearings of the Senate and the House got underway.

The public had been deceived into feeling a false sense of security, entirely ignorant of the demonstrated fact that communist spy rings had been operated and, undoubtedly, are still operating today in highly strategic departments of the Federal Government. The whole matter has been hushed up, covered over, and kept secret until the Congressional hearings spread the ugly facts upon the public records.

Unless one holds that it is none of the public's business what is being done with the public's trust

then certainly the Congressional investigations are most definitely serving the public's interests.

Senator Ferguson tonight has given you another specific demonstration of how these investigations protect the welfare and promote the safety of the general public. You heard Senator Ferguson describe the activities of one William K. Remington, who at the time these hearings began was in the Department of Commerce, passing upon our exports of strategic war supplies to Russia.

Despite the fact that the FBI had made an adverse report on him and that his case was before the President's Loyalty Board, Mr. Remington was in position to okay exports to Russia which increased her military strength and made her both a more likely and a more dangerous potential military enemy.

It was not until three days after Miss Bentley first implicated Mr. Remington in her testimony before our committees that Remington's pay was terminated and his employment file marked, on July 17, "Suspended without pay."

Talk about protecting the public interests, ladies and gentlemen, if it is not in the public interest to safeguard America by prohibiting the shipment of war supplies to communist Russia today, then we had better repeal the Marshall Plan, evacuate Berlin, bring back our troops, surrender Europe to communism, and throw into the

ashcan the entire bipartisan, foreign policy which is based on the conception that the free world must work together to prevent continued communist aggression.

Our Democratic opponents in this debate can criticize these hearings as long and as loudly as they choose. They can never make the American public believe that weeding Communists and their dupes out of government is not in the public interest.

Another big reason these hearings are serving the national interest is the fact, as our interim report points out, that they have already clearly disclosed a need for new legislation to meet with the constantly changing tactics of the Communists.

Our committee report a week ago recommended eight specific points on which new legislation seems necessary. Neither the FBI nor our Federal Grand Jury is empowered to recommend or pass legislation. This is a legislative function for the legislative branch of government and we propose to keep faith with the people.

Only by holding hearings and conducting investigations, such as those of the past few weeks, can either the Congress or the country learn the facts which we must have to legislate effectively in the public interest.

Unless it is proposed to stick our heads in the sand and to fail to face up to the facts, these spy investigations have proved essential

in their disclosures to the general public. These activities of your Congress are vital to our national interest. They are helping this country in these dangerous times to follow the counsel of George Washington when he urged, so long ago, that we place only Americans on guard. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Peterson:

Thank you, Congressman Mundt. Our final speaker was Governor of Rhode Island for three terms and Solicitor General of the United States before he was elected to the United States Senate. As chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Senator McGrath moves about a good deal these days and it is not surprising that he cannot be here in person tonight. Senator McGrath, speaking to us from New York. (*Applause.*)

Senator McGrath:

It is an old technique of the Republican party to call all Democrats out of name and character. This technique has often paid off. In every campaign that we can remember, the liberalism of the Democratic party has been portrayed either as Bolshevism, socialism, and now it's communism.

These investigations conducted in the heat of the present political campaign are a familiar pattern, just as they are a repetition of a performance by the so-called Thomas Committee now almost ten years old—a performance of gain-

ing headlines at the expense of human rights and constitutional liberty.

The fact that the loyalty program, approved by the Congress and implemented by orders of the President, had already discovered and dealt with each of the cases that have been the subject of the Committee's hearings, is positive proof that the Government loyalty program is functioning as was intended.

Throughout a long period of the war, during which the government employed in excess of five million persons, a mere handful proved to be actually or potentially unfaithful of their trust. These infidelities were ferreted out by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other government security agencies, and their cases handled in accordance with our concepts of judicial proceedings and American justice long before this investigation started.

Every single subject and item of information developed by these investigations had already been presented to a grand jury in New York and that work of the grand jury is still continuing.

The FBI and the Justice Department have said that public exposure of the details of suspicion against individuals, whom they were in the process of prosecuting, constituted an undue interference with the administration of justice. I am willing to take the word of the FBI, as I think a

fair-minded men will who believe in our judicial institutions, that these proceedings are, therefore, not in the national interest.

It is to the everlasting credit of the FBI that not a single act of foreign-inspired sabotage has been committed in the United States during the war or since. An organization that can turn in such a record, to my mind, deserves more confidence than is shown by these investigations, which seek by innuendo to infer that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is incapable, unwilling, or ineffective in protecting us against the petty intrigues of unfaithful employees.

No President has done more to stop the spread of communism outside and inside the United States than has President Truman. His policies, wisely executed and implemented by the Congress, stopped communism from taking over Italy, brought it to a halt in Greece and Turkey. It was he who so denounced its leadership, its sympathizers, and its camp-followers in our own country that they have now been forced out of both major political parties and into a camp of their own.

It is only a hopeless and reckless man who would dare insinuate that President Truman for any personal or party advantage would for a moment traffic with persons in or out of Government who seek to tear down the democracy that he risked his very life to serve

and save on the battlefields of Europe and it ill behooves those of less record and stature to join such a smear campaign.

President Truman appointed an outstanding Loyalty Board to investigate every suspicion of subversiveness within the government. He approved machinery for doing so that would operate in the American tradition of fair play, and protection for the sanctity of the individual.

President Truman put at the head of his Loyalty Board not a Democrat, but an outstanding and eminent Republican. A majority of the members of that board, I understand, are Republicans. This committee has access to every particle of information in the possession of the Government. They are satisfied that the Government's loyalty program is successfully operated and needs no duplication of effort by Congressional committees.

I would call attention, however, to the fact that their advice has never been sought during these investigations. Therefore, it appears unnecessary, by reason of any failure of executive agencies to properly function, for us now to conclude that such investigations are clearly a national interest. *(Applause.)*

Moderator Peterson:

Thank you, thank you, Senator McGrath. At this point, the Town Meeting moderator ordi-

narly asks the four speakers to join him here for an intimate discussion around the microphone. This evening I can only invite Congressman Mundt and Mr. Daniels and have faith that Senator Ferguson in Detroit and Senator McGrath in New York will

listen intently and be prepared participate at any time. This a rather complicated and magic business. Senator Ferguson, are you there, sir, and do you have a question for the opposition?

Senator Ferguson: Yes, I have a question. Senator McGrath,

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

HOUSTON PETERSON—Educator, author, lecturer, and radio broadcaster, Dr. Peterson is a professor of philosophy at Rutgers University where he has been a member of the staff since 1929. Born in Fresno, California, in 1897, he attended Pomona College in Claremont where he graduated with an A.B. degree in 1919. The following year he received an A.M. from Columbia and several years later received a Ph.D. from the same university.

Dr. Peterson was on the faculty of Cooper Union from 1938 until 1946. Before that he was chairman of the Cooper Union Forum for several years. He has lectured widely and is heard over the air frequently as an educational broadcaster.

Beside being the editor of a number of books on poetry and related subjects, Dr. Peterson is the author of several books, the latest of which is *Great Teachers*.

HOMER FERGUSON — Homer Ferguson, Republican from Michigan, is serving his first term in the U.S. Senate. Born in 1889 in Harrison City, Pa., he attended the University of Pittsburgh and the University of Michigan. He has an LL.B. from the latter school. From 1913 to 1929, he engaged in the practice of law. From 1929 to 1943, he was a circuit judge in Wayne County, Michigan. Elected to the Senate in the November, 1942, election, he is now chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee.

KARL EARL MUNDT—Congressman Mundt, Republican from South Dakota, is a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He has been a member of Congress since 1939.

Born in Humboldt, S.D., in 1900, he received an A.B. from Carleton College, Northfield, Minn., 1923, and an A.M. from Columbia in 1927. He taught speech and social science in the high school at Bryant, S.D., from 1923-24, was superintendent of schools from 1924-27, and was chairman of the speech department and instructor in social science at Gen. Beadle State Teachers College, Madison, S.D., from 1927-36.

Since 1936, Congressman Mundt has been secretary and treasurer of the Mundt Loan and Investment Co., Inc., of Madison, S.D. He is a staff writer for the *Republican Magazine* and is a frequent contributor to magazines.

JONATHAN WORTH DANIELS — Son of Josephus Daniels who was Secretary of the Navy during World War I, Jonathan Daniels is by profession a newspaperman. Since early in 1942, however, he has been administrative assistant to President Roosevelt. Born in Raleigh, North Carolina, Mr. Daniels has both A.B. and M.A. degrees from the University of North Carolina. He was also a student at Columbia University Law School. In 1923, he became a reporter for the *Raleigh News and Observer*; from 1925 to 1928 he was Washington correspondent; for a year, 1932-33, he was associate editor; and since 1933 he has been editor. Mr. Daniels has been on the editorial staff of *Fortune*, and at present is a contributing editor for *The Nation*. In addition to many magazine articles and reviews, Mr. Daniels is author of *Clash of Angels* (a novel, 1928); *A Southerner Discovers the South* (1938); *A Southerner Discovers New England* (1940); and *Tar Heels: A Portrait of North Carolina* (1941).

JAMES HOWARD McGRATH—A Democrat from Rhode Island and chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Senator J. Howard McGrath, was born in 1903 in Woonsocket, R.I. He is a graduate of Providence (R.I.) College and Boston University and has honorary degrees from several other colleges.

Admitted to the Rhode Island bar, he became city solicitor of Central Falls, R.I., in 1930. Made a U.S. District Attorney in 1935, he resigned to become governor of Rhode Island in 1940. In 1945-46, he was U.S. Solicitor General and since 1946 has been a member of the U.S. Senate.

Senator McGrath has numerous business interests and has engaged in many civic and political activities.

would like to ask you this question. As you know, the President has refused to turn over loyalty information to the Senate Investigating Committee, although we have tried to make clear that we do not want anything of a confidential nature. It is difficult for me to understand the present position because I recall that when I was a member of the Truman Committee, we were investigating the Army Pictorial Services and were attempting to obtain a report of the Inspector General on the deficiencies in that service.

At that time on April 3, 1943, President Truman, then Senator Truman, in a public hearing with Undersecretary of War Patterson said, "You know, Mr. Secretary, what my attitude is. I am not going to quarrel with you on that that while the Inspector General has confidential duties to perform for the Secretary of War, he gets his wherewithal to perform those duties from the Congress and I don't think that Congress ought to be shut off from any information which they deem necessary for legislative purposes no matter who it is."

Now, Senator McGrath, I wonder if you can reconcile this former position of Senator Truman and the present position of President Truman.

Senator McGrath: I would answer that, Senator, by saying that President Truman has offered to submit to your Committee and to

the Thomas Committee, the employment records which you are entitled to receive. He has merely denied to you those items in the government files which are regarded as of a confidential nature by the FBI.

The President has acted wholly on the advice of the agencies that are charged with our security. I am quite sure, if you were sincerely interested in knowing something about these records or the reasons that prompt this particular question, you would have found time during your investigation to have called Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and examined him as to what his opinion is with respect to the security of the country, if the information you are seeking were to be made public. You haven't called Mr. Hoover, and I think he would be very glad to come up and publicly answer your questions.

Mr. Peterson: Thank you, Senator McGrath. Now Congressman Mundt wants to touch on that question.

Congressman Mundt: Yes, because I don't know whether Senator Ferguson's committee has called J. Edgar Hoover or not, but our Committee has on several times and, under the executive arrangements, J. Edgar Hoover cannot come before the Committee without securing the permission of the Attorney General. I would like to read—so that there can be no mistake about the exact status of

these loyalty files—the President's order of August 5. It's brief. "No information of any sort relating to the employee's loyalty and no investigative data of any type, whether relating to loyalty or other aspects of the individual's record shall be included in the material submitted to a Congressional committee."

That's the statement of the President, and for an impartial witness I give you the *Evening Star* editorial which says, "The President has not been cooperating with the investigating committees of Congress."

Mr. Peterson: That's a long and difficult question. Mr. Daniels, would you like to talk on it?

Mr. Daniels: I would like to say that the committees have not hesitated to take the witnesses who have been testifying in secret before Grand Jury trying to catch our enemies and spread all they had told over the land in order that any other people might be warned.

Mr. Peterson: Is that you Senator McGrath, speaking?

Senator McGrath: I understand that Senator Ferguson has to leave the platform for the purpose of making a political introduction in a few moments. I'd like to ask the Senator what he has been doing all of these years in the Senate. How much interest has he taken in the preparation and introduction of legislation to curb communism? As I look over the

record, it seems bare with respect to the Senator's participation in these matters until a few brief months ago as we're approaching this campaign and all of a sudden we start these public hearings.

Mr. Peterson: Senator McGrath, I'm afraid Senator Ferguson has slipped away for a moment and we'll get him on that question a little later.

Senator McGrath: Well, I hope he does a good job introducing Governor Stassen tonight.

Mr. Peterson: Thank you, thank you, Senator McGrath. (Applause.)

Now, we will get ready for our question period. I'm sorry we couldn't have more questions among you men. I'm sure that our listeners will be interested in the following message.

Announcer: You are listening to America's Town Meeting of the Air coming to you from Youngstown, Ohio, where we're the guests of the *Youngstown Vindicator* and Station WFMJ. We're discussing the question, "Are the Congressional Spy Investigations Serving the National Interest?"

You have just heard from Senator J. Howard McGrath, Senator Homer Ferguson, Congressman Karl Mundt, and Jonathan Daniels. We're about ready to take questions from our audience.

Let me remind you that we print each week a complete text including the questions and answers in

the Town Meeting Bulletin which you may secure by writing to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, enclosing 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing.

If you would like to subscribe to the Bulletin for six months, enclose \$2.35, or for a year, send \$4.50. Or if you would like a trial subscription, enclose \$1 for eleven issues. School officials who wish to use the Town Meeting Bulletin in their classrooms during the coming term should write for their subscriptions now.

Next week, your Town Meeting will originate in Washington,

D.C., where we will be the guests of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and Station WMAL. From September 13-17 this distinguished group will celebrate its centennial. The subject for this Town Meeting will be, "What Hope for Man?" Tickets may be obtained by writing to the Association, 1515 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., or the Greater National Capitol Committee, the Evening Star Building, Washington.

Now for our question period, we return you to our guest moderator, Dr. Peterson.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Peterson: Some 2500 people are gathered in the Stambaugh Auditorium in Youngstown, Ohio, and many of them are obviously anxious to put questions to our four speakers. Our assistants are on the aisles with portable microphones, people with questions are holding up their number cards to indicate the speaker to whom the question is directed. We'll start with a question No. 3, that must be Congressman Mundt. Yes, yes, madam, would you direct your question to Congressman Mundt?

Lady: Is it un-American to believe in communism in its real sense?

Mr. Mundt: It's not un-American to believe in communism in its theoretical sense. In its real

sense, unfortunately, communism means control by Russia of the various political parties pushing forward the Soviet program which is ultimate world domination under the Politburo in Moscow and is un-American. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Peterson: Thank you, Congressman Mundt. Now is there a question here for Senator McGrath? Well, Senator McGrath, we'll have one for you in a moment, sir. There is one for Mr. Daniels, I think, over there, way over there. Very quickly, or here in this aisle is another one for Mr. Daniels.

Man: Mr. Daniels, don't you think that these hearings will at least discourage a timid soul who

may join today and become a communist fanatic tomorrow?

Mr. Daniels: I'm afraid you're quite right. They might discourage the timid souls and play into the hands of the bold totalitarians whom we need to fear.

Mr. Peterson: Would you like to comment on that question by any chance, Mr. Mundt? Mr. Mundt always like to comment.

Congressman Mundt: Yes, sir, I want to discourage not only the timid souls and the bold souls, but any other souls trying to sell America out to Soviet, Godless, atheist communism. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Peterson: There's a question there, another one for Mr. Daniels.

Man: Mr. Daniels, why was not some action taken after FBI investigations disclosed that some persons, such as Remington, were of communistic taint?

Mr. Daniels: I regret to have to differ with Congressman Mundt that nothing had been taken. The Associated Press, on July 30 when the case was first taken up by the committees, had this to say, "Remington is still on the government payroll, but was placed on indefinite leave from his Commerce Department post more than a month ago. Secretary of Commerce Sawyer says that he received the report on June 18 which was well over a month before, and that the matter charged in the report was serious, it was the first time he'd received it and after reading it, 'I arranged for Remington's

prompt suspension.'" I regret that we differ on the facts, but those are the facts that I possess.

Senator McGrath: This is Senator McGrath. Might I butt in here for a moment?

Mr. Peterson: Yes, yes, Senator McGrath.

Senator McGrath: In response to that question, I do not know the facts on the Remington case; that is, the confidential facts are more than the Committee know, but I have had a broad experience. I might say, in the Department of Justice, I served as Solicitor General of the United States over a period of time. In that capacity I came in contact with the work that was being done by the FBI and the various security agencies of the Government.

We knew of many cases, some cases where persons were suspected of disloyalty. They were not discharged because part of the investigating technique was to have them under surveillance. These people were often transferred from one agency to another even while under strong suspicion. Part of the technique was that they would be transferred to an agency where they would be most likely to be dealing with the friends of Russia; let us say, because it would only be to an employee in that kind of an agency that others would come.

It is through these techniques which the Bureau has not been anxious to make public for fear it will deprive them of their oppor-

tunity to gather in the real culprits in the game, that these employees were kept under surveillance.

But the fact of the matter is that these investigations have not shown that there was a single act of disloyalty to the Government, and I think here again we may thank the FBI for it had these people under surveillance and made sure that nothing happened.

Now if these investigating techniques are not going to be allowed to our Government, then I think we are in real and serious danger. That is the reason, probably, why many of these people were retained on the federal payroll even though they were under suspicion.

Mr. Peterson: Thank you, Senator McGrath. Now a very brief word on that question from Congressman Mundt and then next a question for Senator Ferguson. Congressman Mundt.

Congressman Mundt: I would like to point out first of all the amazing admission just made by our opponents. Now they say this isn't a red herring. They've been keeping these Red-lovers on the payroll, but just doing it so that FBI can keep in exercise.

Let me point out, however, as to this man in question, Mr. Remington. I have in my hand a letter from Thomas Blaisdale, Acting Secretary of Commerce, August 26, and he says Mr. Remington's pay has been stopped and he is

not working in the Department. The Department considers that Mr. Remington has been under suspension without pay since July 17. That's three days after Miss Bentley first testified before the Committee.

Mr. Peterson: I can't keep Mr. Daniels away from the microphone now. Mr. Daniels, briefly.

Mr. Daniels: My document is a speech by the Secretary of Commerce, but as for just keeping the FBI exercising, the FBI is working to protect us, and they don't need to exercise these Congressmen, because they can do the job better. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Peterson: Now then here is a question from Senator Ferguson.

Senator Ferguson: Yes, I'd like to say something about this FBI situation.

Mr. Peterson: Who is this speaking?

Senator Ferguson: This is Senator Ferguson. They're talking about the FBI doing its job. The FBI is a collector of facts. It has nothing to do with the facts after it collects them. In this case, we're trying to have J. Edgar Hoover now come before the Committee. I've asked him to come there. It's been impossible to even get an answer from him because he must ask Tom Clark, the Attorney General, and we've been waiting now ten days for Mr. Clark to tell Mr. Hoover as to whether or not he can come even

before the Committee and talk to the Committee.

Now you see, it isn't the FBI. I have faith in the FBI, but they're not allowed to act upon the facts which they receive. J. Edgar Hoover, back in 1946, said out in San Francisco that there were Communists in the United States Government. Now, they haven't got them out and the facts show now that they just consider it a red herring and don't want to get them out.

Senator McGrath: Senator Ferguson, may I ask you a question?

Senator Ferguson: Yes, I'd like to have your question, Mac.

Senator McGrath: Senator, you were speaking about your knowledge of the existence of subversive elements in the Government back in 1946. Prior to your leaving the platform there in Detroit to introduce Governor Stassen, I had propounded a question as to just what you had done in the Congress of the United States up to the present time by way of introducing legislation, or the like, to help meet the Communist issue—

Mr. Peterson: Gentlemen, you mustn't argue quite so much between yourselves. We've got to get the audience in.

Senator Ferguson: Well, I'd like to answer that question if I could.

Mr. Peterson: All right, briefly.

Senator Ferguson: I've sat on the Judiciary Committee, and I think that some bill, like the Mundt Bill, that is, providing for

cold war treason, must be passed by Congress, and I have worked steadily to get such a law on the books, and I think in the next Congress we'll get it.

(Unintelligible. Everyone talking at once.)

Mr. Peterson: Now, gentlemen, would you let Mr. Daniels speak?

Mr. Daniels: Senator Ferguson says the FBI has no powers to evaluate, and the Loyalty Board do. Why did it take Congress nearly five months after the President asked for this machinery to give it to him?

Senator Ferguson: *(words indistinguishable)* . . . eleven million dollars last year and eleven million his year, making a total of seventeen million dollars. If there weren't any Communists in the government what did he want seventeen million dollars to get them out for? Did he just ask for the money for the fun of it? He's been spending it all. He hasn't got them out so there must be in there yet.

Mr. Peterson: Here's a question in the balcony for Senator McGrath. Is the gentleman still there?

Man: Senator McGrath, what part of the present spy investigations is earnestly devoted to national interest. What part is the endeavor of certain political factions to gain limelight?

Senator McGrath: I would answer that by saying that, in my opinion, Senator Ferguson and

committee have really tried to approach this question from the point of view of getting information for the formation of legislation. I have gathered from these hearings, and I have tried to read them very impartially, that that committee was really trying to do that. I'm sorry that I cannot say the same of the House Committee. I think it's only looking for headlines. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Mundt does not quite agree with that.

Congressman McGrath: I wouldn't expect him to.

Congressman Mundt: Were it not for the fact that I'm a candidate for the Senate myself I would say that McGrath is just engaging in a little supercilious Senatorial snobbery. I must defend the House Committee, because after all, if the Senate Committee is doing a good job, then the House Committee is doing a good job, because we're working on the same points. We're helping each other with our staffs and with our hearings and with our information, all in the interest of trying to eliminate from Government these Communists that are so thick President Truman himself said, "Give me 25 million dollars to get the Communists out of Government my predecessor, Mr. Roosevelt, put in." (*Applause and boos.*)

Senator McGrath: Congressman Mundt, will you please name one spy that you and your committee have discovered in ten

years? Congressman, will you please name one spy that you and your committee have discovered in ten years that the FBI didn't know months before you even had their names?

Mr. Peterson: I have a question now for Mr. Daniels down there in the right aisle.

Man: Mr. Daniels, if you do not believe that these investigations can rid the country of Communists in our Federal Government, what do you propose?

Mr. Daniels: I propose that the regular, orderly agencies of government set up by Congress and staffed and given appropriations by Congress be allowed to do the job without a lot of Congressmen messing in their business. (*Applause.*)

Senator Ferguson: I'd like to get in on that. Can I answer that gentleman's question? I just want to say to the gentleman that I think he's absolutely right. They say that the FBI and the Department of Justice and the President had all these facts, but the public never had them. What we are talking about tonight is how can Congress function to get the public the facts and how can Congress get the facts so they can pass legislation?

Now, we're getting the same question from the so-called liberals, applauding and yelling now that there is character assassination and smearing of innocent persons. These are the same persons

who praised the Teapot Dome investigation and the Pecora banking and stock practices. You see, it all depends upon whose shoe the foot is—whose foot the shoe is on—I'll put it that way.

Mr. Peterson: Thank you, Senator Ferguson. Now, here's another question for Congressman Mundt.

Man: Congressman Mundt. I am no fireman. Do you think that I could help put out a fire better than the Fire Department, or are you and the other Congressmen better than the FBI?

Congressman Mundt: Out where I live, which is in the great productive farming state of South Dakota, we have what is known as the volunteer fire departments that do a wonderful job—sometimes a lot better than these professionals do. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Peterson: Mr. Daniels who will get the next question, has a comment on that one.

Mr. Daniels: If Congressman Mundt is coming out for amateur fire departments to fight the totalitarianism, then I accept his apology and his surrender. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Peterson: That was good and brief, Mr. Daniels. Now, the young lady there has a question for Mr. Daniels. Lady in the white shirtwaist.

Lady: Mr. Daniels, isn't there great danger that the FBI and the Loyalties Committee may turn into an American Gestapo, questioning everyone's loyalty?

Mr. Daniels: I think that there is much less danger when agencies act through our courts and our judicial procedures than there is when committees get witnesses out of courts and then say whatever they please about the character of anybody. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Peterson: Thank you, Mr. Daniels. Now, Senator McGrath here comes a question for you.

Man: Senator McGrath, is the Democratic party afraid of the outcome of this investigation?

Senator McGrath: Not at all, I may say. The Democratic party has been making a courageous fight to check communism in the United States. May I point out to you that as far back as February 5 of this year the Attorney General went before the Congress and told the Congress that he then had 3,400 undesirable aliens, 2,100 of them natives of countries behind the iron curtain; that there were no laws on the statute books which permitted him to keep the people incarcerated. He asked for help from the Congress. But the Congress has to this day refused to give him any help.

So, 3,400 undesirable people are freely walking the streets against the advice of the Attorney General. But the Republican 80th Congress—Congressman Mundt, Senator Ferguson, and the committee that they serve—refuse to give the Attorney General the authority that he asks to deport these people.

and to hold them incarcerated until they could be deported. That's how much interested they are in really fighting communism in the United States. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Peterson: Senator Ferguson, here comes now a question for you and you may be able to comment on the previous one.

Man: Senator Ferguson. Why does not the Un-American Committee investigate the Klan and other fascist organizations just as Un-American as the communist organization? (*Applause.*)

Senator Ferguson: I can answer that in this way. Although I'm not a member of the un-American Activities—I'm a member of the Senate Investigation. As I understand it, they do investigate all subversive elements, they have looked into the Klan and the various other things.

At the present time, they are now looking into the communist activities. Of course, the same as our Committee, they can't do all at one time.

I'd like to answer that previous question that if you take the people of the United States in the late Gallup poll, this question was presented to them: Do you think Congress should continue with its spy investigations or do you think Congress should call them off? Here's how the people answered: 79% of the people answered that they should continue. Only 15% said they should call them off. Only 6% had no opinion.

Now, in the same thing: 74% of the people said they were not purely political; only 17% said they were purely political, and it's surprising to know that 71% of the Democrats asked said that they were not purely political. The people who think that they are political are those who are favorable to Henry Wallace. That is a very significant point, because we know where Henry Wallace stands on this Russian question.

Mr. Peterson: Thank you, Senator. Now there's a question for Mr. Daniels, who is also pummeling my back.

Mr. Daniels: I hope Senator Ferguson understands where Howard McGrath and I are on Henry Wallace.

Senator Ferguson: Well, I know you are just about as opposed to them as I am.

Mr. Peterson: Now a question for Mr. Daniels, right here.

Man: Mr. Daniels, do you not think that there is a direct parallel between these spy probes and the Old World witch hunts?

Mr. Daniels: There is a direct parallel between these spy probes and the alien and sedition laws which almost tore this young Republic apart and which sent the Federalist party, the forerunners of the Republicans, into innocuous desuetude for 30 years. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Peterson: There's a brief question here for Congressman

Mundt. Our time is nearly up, Number 3 there.

Man: With the prices the way they are, fixed prices on meat, houses and other necessary commodities, why is it the Un-American Committee doesn't investigate the un-American activities of the National Association of Manufacturers? (*Applause.*)

Congressman Mundt: I'm afraid the young man has been reading the *Daily Worker* because I've seen that in the editorial columns time after time. I would like to say right here, that speaking about direct parallels, if you want a direct parallel, there is a direct parallel between communist infiltration into the Executive New Deal agencies of government and the Communist penetration into Czechoslovakia which brought that proud democracy to its knees. (*Many speaking at once.*)

Congressman Mundt: I'd like to quote from the *Youngstown Vindicator*, which is a pretty good paper, I have found out. (*Applause.*) Tonight in the David Lawrence column, it say this: "It certainly is wrong to try to laugh off or ridicule any Congressional committee which seeks to expose those who can probably claim they are not Communists, but who nevertheless do the work of the Communist party for the benefit of a foreign government." It quotes J. Edgar Hoover as saying, "The Communists have maneuvered themselves into positions where a

few Communists control the destiny of hundreds who are willing to be led or have been duped into obtaining the dictatorship of others."

Mr. Peterson: Our time is I'm afraid. Thank you, Mr. Mundt and all you other speakers and questioners. Now, while our speakers prepare their summaries of tonight's questions, here is a special message of interest to you.

Announcer: Tonight we have heard a discussion of one of the most battling aspects of our national life—the Congressional investigations and their effect on our national security. Tomorrow will mark the first day of school in many towns and cities throughout the land. Although there has been some improvement in educational conditions in recent months, a large proportion of the Nation's schools still face serious handicaps—a shortage of qualified teachers, overcrowded classrooms and inadequate or obsolete buildings.

Poor school conditions retard our children and weaken our Nation. It is the duty of every parent and citizen to join and work with local civic groups and school boards to improve educational conditions.

It is estimated that by 1953 and '54, there will be some 5 million more children in school than there are now. More men and women of the highest possible qualifications must be attracted into teaching. Nothing less than quali-

teachers can put quality into the Nation's schools. Our teachers mold our Nation's future.

Now for a summary of tonight's discussion, here is Dr. Peterson.

Mr. Peterson: Now, Congressman Mundt, will you sum up the case for the affirmative?

Congressman Mundt: Ladies and gentlemen, tonight's debate is largely centered around the question of whether you, the public, can be trusted to have and weigh the facts about communist espionage and infiltration in our Executive Departments.

Both sides of this argument have said they deplore the fact that Communists have penetrated high office in Government. However, Senator McGrath and Daniels have argued that it is not the business of Congress to detect or expose these conditions. They argue that this should all be left to the Executive agencies. Apparently, they hold that, since the Executive agencies appointed the Communists and their dupes in the first place, it should be left to the White House and the Executive agencies to kick them out.

With this position, Senator Ferguson and I totally and emphatically disagree. We hold that in this country the people are entitled to the facts, and one of the functions of Congress is to strip the mantle of secrecy from unwholesome conditions and let the people have the facts.

We deplore the totalitarian con-

cept that in America the good judgment of the people cannot be trusted to deal with whatever facts are there. We believe that the current Congressional spy investigations are essential if adequate safeguards are to be set up so that the demonstrated weaknesses of the past can be positively prevented in the future. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Peterson: Now, Mr. Daniels, may we have the summary for the negative?

Mr. Daniels: Mr. Chairman, Senator McGrath and I have undertaken to show you that the best job ever done in this country in setting up defenses against Communism has been done under this and the Roosevelt Administration, and that we have the testimony of Governor Dewey to the effect that there is plenty of law, plenty of agencies.

We have also undertaken to show you that the best job in fighting the Communists is in letting our experts do that job, and not to injure our civil liberties, and our real task in catching the Communists and putting them where they ought to be by interference from amateurs in Congress.

We believe two things: (1) that in America it is not necessary to burn down the barn to catch the rats; and (2) that after the FBI has made a patient harvest of this work of seeking out the Communists no boys playing with matches should be allowed to play around

the haystack of our security. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Peterson: Thank you, Jonathan Daniels and Congressman Mundt, and thank you also Senators Ferguson and McGrath for your long-distance contributions. Our special gratitude goes also to the *Youngstown Vindicator* and Station WFMJ and to our local sponsor, the Straus-Herschberg Co.

Next week, America's Town Meeting will come to you from Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., where the American Association for the Advancement of Science will be holding its great centennial celebration. Our broad question: "What Hope for Man?" will be explored by four outstanding scientists: Harlow Shapley, di-

rector of the Harvard Observatory; Brock Chisholm, director general of the World Health Organization; Fairfield Osborn, president of the New York Zoological Society; and Edmund W. Sinnott, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

This is my third and final appearance as guest moderator of the summer and a high privilege it has been, and, I must say, a very tough burden, especially on a night like this. George V. DeMunnick Jr., founder and moderator of America's Town Meeting will be back with you next Tuesday evening. Plan to be with him then and every Tuesday at the sound of the Crier's Bell. (*Applause.*)

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